

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 PM-04 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 H-01  
CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 DODE-00 AID-05 IGA-02 TRSE-00  
OMB-01 EUR-12 IO-13 /086 W  
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R 280757Z FEB 77

FM AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3746

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

S E C R E T KHARTOUM 0672

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR SU US ET SO

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR SEELYE'S MEETING WITH FONMIN KHALID

SUMMARY. FONMIN KHALID REITERATED TO SEELYE GOS BELIEF THAT EPMG "HOPELESS", THAT FURTHER USG ARMS AID ETHIOPIA WOULD BE UNHELPFUL AND THAT GSDR--BUT POSSIBLY NOT EPMG--GENUINELY PREPARED ACCEPT INDEPENDENCE DJIBOUTI. END SUMMARY.

1. DEPASSTSEC SEELYE AND I SPENT ALMOST AN HOUR WITH FONMIN MANSOUR KHALID LATE FEB 26. SEELYE BEGAN BY EXPRESSING PLEASURE AT RENEWED CORDIALITY USG/GOS BILATERAL TIES, ASSURING KHALID WE WISHED FURTHER DEVELOP THIS RELATIONSHIP EVEN THOUGH PROGRESS ON CONCRETE PROGRAMS WAS OFTEN SLOWER THAN WE WOULD WISH. KHALID CONFIRMED OUR RELATIONS NOW ON PROPER COURSE AND SEEMED UNDERSTANDING DELAYS IN RENEWING SIGNIFICANT ASSISTANCE PROGRAM.

2. IN COURSE RELAXED AND FRIENDLY DISCUSSION, KHALID DESCRIBED EPMG AS "HOPELESS", SINCE IT WAS "SOLD" TO THE SOVIETS

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AND SINCE COUNTRY ITSELF WAS THREATENED WITH COMPLETE DISINTEGRATION. KHALID DOUBTED ANYTHING USG MIGHT DO COULD EXTRICATE MENGISTU REGIME FROM SOVIET CLUTCHES. FONMIN CONTRASTED ADDIS SITUATION GLOOMILY WITH THAT IN MOGADISCIO WHERE GSDR HAS MAINTAINED BALANCE IN ITS RELATIONS WITH SOVIETS. THERE HAD BEEN NO IDEOLOGICAL MARRIAGE AND AS A RESULT SOMALIA SITUATION WAS RETRIEVABLE. IN ADDIS, ON OTHER HAND, ONE WOULD

HAVE TO LOOK FOR ALTERNATIVE GOVERNMENT. SUCH ALTERNATIVE KHALID THOUGHT EXISTED IN SHAPE OF BETTER ELEMENTS OF OLD REGIME, YOUNGER POLITICAL FIGURES AFFILIATED EPRP AND THOSE ASSOCIATED WITH EDU.

3. AFTER DESCRIBING RATIONALE FOR CONTINUED US MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO ETHIOPIA, SEELYE ASKED FOR KHALID'S VIEWS RE PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECT ON HORN AREA OF ANY USG DEISENGAGEMENT FROM ETHIOPIA. KHALID RESPONDED MAINTENANCE NOMINAL RELATIONS WOULD CAUSE NO PROBLEM BUT FURTHER USG ASSISTANCE TO THOSE "WHO ARE DESTROYING YOUR INTERESTS AND THOSE OF YOUR FRIENDS IN THE AREA" WOULD BE HARD TO UNDERSTAND. SEELYE WONDERED WHETHER CONTINUED USG MILITARY AID MIGHT NOT SERVE DETERRENT FUNCTION VIS-A-VIS GSDR OVER DJIBOUTI. KHALID RESPONDED NEGATIVELY. HE THOUGHT SOMALIS WOULD NOT BE INTERESTED IN

STARTING SOMETHING IN DJIBOUTI. MOGADISCIO WOULD ACCEPT

DJIBOUTI INDEPENDENCE. DANGER ON THIS ISSUE WAS RATHER FROM ETHIOPIA BUT KHALID THOUGHT IT NOT SIGNIFICANT SINCE EPMG AWARE OTHERS WOULD NOT TOLERATE ETHIOPIAN INTERVENTION.

4. RE OGADEN, KHALID THOUGHT GSDR FELT STRONGER AND THAT THEY COULD MOVE, AT LEAST GRADUALLY TO ENLARGE THEIR AREA OF CONTROL. ALREADY THERE HAD BEEN AT LEAST ONE EIGHTY-MILE INCURSION BY SOMALI IRREGULARS WHICH ETHIOPIANS HAD BEEN IN NO POSITION EITHER RESIST OR PUBLICIZE. EVEN THOUGH SOMALI MOVE ON OGADEN MIGHT RUN COUNTER TO STANDARD OAU POSITIONS,  
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CURRENT EPMG POLICIES, KHALID THOUGHT, WOULD FORCE AFRICANS TO SUPPORT GSDR. PROPER SOLUTION WOULD BE FOR NEGOTIATIONS INVOLVING SOME TERRITORIAL CHANGES AND JOINT OPERATIONS BUT ETHIOPIANS WOULD NEVER AGREE.

5. SEELYE ASKED REGARDING GOS POLICY WITH RESPECT ERITREAN INDEPENDENCE. KHALID REPLIED "SELF-DETERMINATION" WOULD BE THE ANSWER BUT EPMG REFUSED CONSIDER THIS. HE FELT ERITREA IS SPECIAL CASE FALLING OUTSIDE GENERAL OAU ENDORSEMENT TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AFRICAN COUNTRIES, SINCE ERITREA HAD ONLY BECOME PART OF ETHIOPIA RECENTLY AND IN CONTRAVENTION UNSC RULING.

6. AS TO KENYA, KHALID OPINED ITS STRUCTURE REMAINED ENTIRELY TRIBAL AND THAT SERIOUS PROBLEM INSTABILITY WOULD BE LIKELY ARISE FOLLOWING KENYATTA'S DEPARTURE FROM SCENE. KHALID SAID KENYAN SITUATION MIGHT THEN LOOK MUCH WORSE THAN ETHIOPIA DOES NOW.

7. COMMENT. ATMOSPHERE WAS MOST FRIENDLY THROUGHOUT. WHILE KHALID DID NOT SPEAK IN CATEGORIC TERMS, IT CLEAR THAT HE HOPES FURTHER SIGNIFICANT USG MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO EHTIOPIA WILL BE AVOIDED TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF WHAT HE PERCEIVES AS NEW SITUATION DEVELOPING IN HORN.

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